

Chinese Immigration: A Letter to the Board of Immigration, 1865

Dr. William Hillebrand

Introduction by Dr. Nancy F. Young

In order to meet the demands for cheap labor by the rapidly expanding plantation system in Hawaii, 175 field laborers and 20 houseboys from China were imported by the Royal Hawaiian Agricultural Society in 1852. In the fall of the same year a second boatload of ninety-eight men were brought in. The optimism with which the laborers were greeted was soon displaced by disgruntled remarks about their quarrelsomeness, moral and social problems created by the disproportionate number of men, their tendency to leave the plantation even before their five-year contract expired, and as noted by Prince Liholiho in 1854 "their disposition to hang themselves."

Despite widespread dissatisfaction with the Chinese laborers, the impetus to the sugar industry by the Civil War in America renewed the clamor for imported labor. On December 30, 1864, a Board of Immigration was instituted for the purpose of supervising the introduction of immigrants, and soon afterwards an ordinance was passed forbidding the introduction of any contract laborers into the kingdom without the express license of the Board. In April, 1865, Dr. William Hillebrand, an eminent Honolulu physician, was appointed Royal Commissioner to China and India and was dispatched to China, India, and the Malay Archipelago to collect information and to make arrangements for the importation of laborers.

In 1865, as a result of Dr. Hillebrand's efforts, 528 Chinese, including 96 women and 10 children, arrived in Hawaii on ships

Dr. Nancy F. Young is Assistant Professor, Ethnic Studies, University of Hawaii. For biography of Dr. William Hillebrand, see Hawaiian Journal of History, 1'1 (1969) 137-141.

chartered by the Board of Immigration. Dr. Hillebrand's letter to the Board was selected for reprinting because it reveals the details of the procedure by which he procured these laborers and the rationale upon which he based his selections.

Dr. Hillebrand's official report to the Board of Immigration was issued in 1867 by the Government Press. The "Report on Supply of Labor, etc., by the Honorable Wm. Hillebrand, Royal Commissioner to China and India, to the Honorable Board of Immigration" included little of the information presented in this letter. The report summarized Dr. Hillebrand's findings concerning the procedures and problems encountered in the "coolie trade" to various parts of the world, but omits the information on the arrangements for the recruitment of Chinese laborers to Hawaii.

Hong Kong July 15th 1865

His Excell. The Minister of the Interior
and President of the Board of Immigration

Dear Sir.

My last letter advising you of my arrival in this place, two days previous to date, was written, & left in the "Golden West" bound for Callao via Honolulu on the 14th June. At present I have the satisfaction to be able to inform you, that on Thursday next July 20th before nightfall, the first vessel, the Chilian barque *Alberto*, Capt. Broderson, 653 tons register, will leave this port with from 246 to 250 Chinese coolies for Honolulu. A second vessel, the British ship *Roscoe* 586 tons, Capt. Newton, will follow in about a fortnight after, with 260 or 270 more. The exact proportion of females I have not been able to ascertain yet, but it will be between 20 & 25 per cent.¹

The reason why I have chartered two vessels, instead of one, as originally intended is simply a consideration for the health and welfare of the passengers. Only a month previous to my arrival here, a vessel with 600 Coolies on board had left for Surinam, dispatched by the same house which does my business. To accommodate such a number of passengers, it had of course to be a two decked ship of about 1,300 tons register. While off Anger on the coast of Sumatra, the ship was spoken by a vessel bound to Hong Kong, & reported 27 deaths, & 66 cases of sickness. Mr Thomsett the Harbor master, who is also Inspector of Emigrant Ships, told me that he could not account for the calamity, unless by the circumstance that there was a lower deck used for the accommodation of a part of the passengers, which of course could not be ventilated & lighted, so well as the middle deck.

He advised me strongly to take two ships instead of one, which advice I the more readily complied with, as freights are unprecedentedly low, & it was doubtful if, even had we put all the men on one vessel, we could have obtained cheaper rates than now, viz \$12.00 per head for adults, & half price for children below the age of 15 & above one year.

The proceedings followed by me in obtaining these coolies has been this.

As I wrote you before, I saw Mr Whitall, H. H. M's Consul, & chief of the house of Jardine, Matheson & Co. on the day after my arrival. And allow me to state here, that I consider our Government's interests placed in the hands of the most influential party of this Colony, if not of the whole of China, for which appointment our Minister for Foreign Affairs deserves great credit.

Mr Whitall after hearing the various objects of my Mission, recommended me to the Rev. Wm Lobscheid, formerly German Missionary, but now almost exclusively occupied with literary pursuits. This gentleman has the reputation not only of being a very learned Sinologue, but also to understand the Chinese character & customs better than any one else here. His influence & reputation amongst the Chinese is very great, & he has been employed repeatedly by the British and other Governments, to transact political business between them & the Chinese during the last War, & later. At present it is the intention of this Government to make him General Agent for Emigration from this Colony. He has conducted of late years several enterprises of this kind, to the utmost satisfaction, for the British & Dutch Guyanas and for Tahiti. His name is a full guarantee with the Chinese, & his influence has been more than once solicited in vain, by parties carrying on the Coolie trade in a questionable manner.

His object in lending himself to these transactions is by no means one of pecuniary gain. Having witnessed the many atrocious cruelties connected with the Coolie trade, as conducted by private speculators, he seriously set himself about finding a remedy.

But, as he told me, he soon came to the conclusion "that it was useless to try to swim against the current of the World."

If other countries needed laborers, they would contrive to get them, no matter by what means.

The only feasible remedy seemed to him to take hold of the matter himself & direct it in its proper, legitimate channel.

This he set himself about without delay.

When the British Guianas, & Trinidad established a special Agency

here for Immigration, he sent to the officer then entrusted with it, (Mr Austin) his full support, & thereby guaranteed its success. He has also done a great deal to expose publicly the malpractices of the Peruvian and Cuban contractors, whose doings enjoy a very unenviable notoriety. I have been thus explicit about the character & position of Mr L—because it is my intention to appoint him our agent pro.tem. on my leaving this place, & hope you will approve of my choice.

I must add however that he does not transact the Commercial & Shipping business of these undertakings, but simply lends it his name, & makes & supervises the arrangements of the Chinese Agent employed for the recruiting. The Commercial part of the business, is entrusted to a Mercantile firm which also arranges the financial terms with the Chinese Agent.

Having obtained as full information about the mechanism, & details of the business as I deemed necessary, I proceeded to gather estimates of cost of each single Coolie, as recruited by the various Emigration Establishments.

Messrs Pustau & Co. procured me those of the Macao Establishment from which Peru is supplied, of which I enclose copy. You will learn from it that each Coolie costs, before he is delivered on board ship, between \$72 & \$74. Our actual cheap rates of freight would raise the cost in Honolulu to 84 or 86 dollars. That is the sum which every Coolie would cost the Contractors, according to their estimates. But it is very doubtful if they would deliver them in Honolulu for that price.

The Peruvian Consul at Macao, Mr. Cantuarias, who conducts that business himself, on his own account, called on me to offer his services. When asked about the price he spoke of 100 dollars or thereabout. And mind well, he said he could not procure women, who are by far more expensive than men.

The permanent Agency for British Guiana & Trinidad which is located at Canton, under the superintendence of Mr Sampson, has shipped to those Colonies during the last six years, an average of 2,800 each year, at a cost varying between 23 & 25 pounds per head. As I have visited that Establishment myself since, & Mr Sampson has very obligingly given me all the details of the business done by him, I will here give you the most interesting data concerning it. He keeps a large establishment there, a very spacious building, in which he houses & feeds the Emigrants as they come in from the country, until he has the number requisite for a ship. They are then under no manner of restraint, but go & come as they

please. He always sends about 25 per cent of women who receive a bonus of \$20 each & are not bound to work after their arrival in the Colony. The planter who employs the husband, has to take the wife & pay her cost & expenses. The Governments of those Colonies conduct the entire business & pay one third of its expense. The remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ of the cost are equally distributed between men & women, & the planter pays equal rates for either sex.

Mr Sampson only despatches vessels during the N. E. Monsoon, between Oct. & April, & never takes any but single decked ones. The highest number he sent in one vessel (1,300 tons) was 500. The voyage lasts from 86 to 120 days, & the mortality ranges between $1\frac{1}{2}$ and $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. His salary & fees amount to 1,500 pounds sterling, & he has a house furnished to him free of rent. After I had obtained the greater portion of the above detailed information, the following estimate was submitted to me by Mr. Booth of the firm of Bourjean, Hubener & Co. a German House to which Mr Lobscheid had entrusted the former transactions for Surinam & Tahiti.

500 Coolies, of whom 25 p. c. will be women. Expenses for recruiting, lodging & boarding while in Hong Kong, two suits of clothes &c & provisions for a voyage of 60 days; fitting up of ship, watercasks &c as will be seen by the enclosed agreement with the Chinese firm of Wo Hang, who does all this by contract at \$25.00 per head.

									\$12,500
125 women, a bonus of \$20.00 a head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,500
375 men a bonus of \$8 a head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3,000
for Doctor & Interpreter	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	50
Cooks, overseers, & stewards	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	120
Commission \$4.00 a head	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2,000
									<hr/> 20,170

This would make an average of \$40.34 for each Coolie ready to be shipped. If to this be added \$12.00 for passage, the cost of each Coolie delivered in Honolulu, would stand in \$52.34. Of course a few items will have to be added yet, but even adding a remuneration to Mr Lobscheid, & including \$5,000 as expenses of our Bureau on my account, the cost of 500 Coolies delivered in Honolulu would not quite foot up to \$60.00. This estimate appeared to me so acceptable, backed as it was by the respectable name of the firm, & the recommendation of Mr Lobscheid, that I at once closed up with it.

Several questions however were still in abeyance. Shall the women be bound to work? Wherever women have been sent hitherto they

have gone as free immigrants although receiving a gratuity of \$20 each.

This might be practicable in Colonies, where Government by defraying $\frac{1}{3}$ of the cost, virtually paid for the women; but for our islands, where Government expects to be reimbursed for all outlays & the planter wants his moneys' worth in labor, I saw insuperable difficulties. I insisted therefore that the women should be bound to work at monthly wages of \$8.00, which rates are considered sufficient. (Of course it is understood that the women only be employed at light labor, & not be separated from their husbands. Cane stripping & cutting I certainly do consider light labor, but I deem it judicious that the Bureau of Immigration should from the start issue stringent regulations to that effect.) I insisted also that only married women shall be accepted, a point which was yielded only after some hesitation. In consequence of this regulation, I was informed today that quite a number of weddings will take place in the first days of next week, as many females who were considered too poor matches for suitors, are becoming quite eligible when in possession of \$20. On board of the ship however the sexes have separate accommodations.

The men receive here a gratuity of \$8.00 before embarkation, which is not an advance, but then the time of service which is fixed at 5 years, only commences on the day of their disembarkation in Honolulu.

The men are to receive \$4.00 per month. Five days holy day on Chinese New Year were contended for, but being aware that this festival falls in the grinding season, I reduced it to three days, but then I had to submit to a New Years present of \$2.00.

I hope you will approve of these terms; I certainly think, no planter can complain of them fairly. In all former contracts made with Coolies shipped to the W. Indies, Tahiti &c there was a commutation clause, according to which, a Coolie could free himself after the first year by paying $\frac{4}{5}$, after the second by paying $\frac{3}{5}$ & so on in that proportion at the expiration of each successive year of his original cost. Being aware to how many abuses this well intended regulation might give rise, in giving a handle to an unscrupulous neighbor for enticing away a valuable servant from his original employer, & also of the injustice to the original employer, when compelled to part with a servant just when he begins to become useful, I insisted upon the abandonment of that clause, for which I think many a planter will have reason to thank me. But I do most earnestly recommend you to have a law passed, by which

a servant who is ill treated by his master, may have the option of choosing another, & that the authorities of the place must lend him their aid in that matter.

The arrangements with the firm Wo Hang was, only to accept men between the ages of 15 & 35 years. A few individuals below that age, sons, daughters or brothers of others engaged, will however in all probability be shipped. It remains with you how to locate them. They might be let at lower rates, but in families where they would have the benefit of some degree of education.

A few words about the way in which the Coolies are recruited. You know when I left, I had the intention of superintending personally the Chinese Agents to be employed for that purpose. I soon learned however that such a thing would be simply impossible. It would be so even for one speaking the Chinese language; still more so for one utterly ignorant of it. The way in which the business is conducted is simply by public advertisement.

Mr Lobscheid wrote an article for the Chinese newspaper which appears here in Hongkong, & of which he is ex officio censor.

He described there shortly the Sandwich Islands, dwelt on their proximity to China, good climate, & good Government. He was very emphatic on the first point, that this affair was conducted entirely by the Government through a specially appointed Commissioner, & that it had nothing to do with private speculation. Applicants he directed to Mr Hang.

This paper has an extensive circulation through the country, & particularly the Canton province, in many parts of which Mr Hang has agents who distributed copies of the advertisement.

The result is that now, not four weeks after the issuing of that advertisement, there are already more than enough Coolies to fill the first vessel. Mr Hang receives, quarters, feeds & ships them at his expense, as per agreement. They are gathered in indiscriminately from the City & Country. As to the character of the people of the Canton province, they are considered more active, industrious & intelligent than the natives from any other part of the Empire; but as a drawback, they are also more troublesome. But this does not hinder foreigners as a rule, from preferring Cantonese as their servants. Canton enjoys the reputation of being the most refined City, the Athens of China. All emigration is carried on now a days from this province, none goes from northern ports. The principal depot is Macao, which I have not seen yet. Thence are shipped the Coolies for Peru & Havana, by private speculators exclusively, & never any females whom to obtain, these speculators declare to be

Expedition per "Alberto" to Honolulu
The Hon. W. Hillebrand in account with the
Undersigned

To payment to Wohang for fitting out the			
Alberto provisioning, clothing 248 passengers			
for 56 days as per Government regulations,			
clearing the ship at Harbour-master's office			
at 25 \$ p head as p. Contract		\$ 6200	-
Payment to 199 Men at 98		1592	✓
do . 43 Women . 208		860	-
do . 8 Children . 4.		32	-
Advance to Interpreter 25 \$ wages		25	-
do . Doctor 25 .		25	-
Payment of Wages to 1 Steward 108		10	-
" . 2 . 6 Cooks 5.		30	-
" . 2 . 3 Overseers 7.		21	-
Purchase of 50 pounds Rice extra at 3.30		165	✓
" . 30 Tails Opium 75¢ each		22 50	✓
Petty		30	-
Steaming for towing ship out of the harbour		30	✓
Commission " 248 passengers at 42 p head		992	-
		\$ 10034 50	✓
By your Cash payment		10500	-
Balance to Your Credit		\$ 465 50	✓

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Honolulu, 22nd July 1865

W. Hillebrand

impossible. The most objectionable proceedings are resorted to, to entice emigrants into their barracoons, & once entered there, they are not allowed to leave them until they go on board ship. Regular kidnapping raids have been made more than once along the Southern coast.

In Canton there are two depots, one for the British West Indies under the superintendence of Mr Sampson, & the other a private affair of a Frenchman, who ships to Havana. The former is conducted very fairly & properly, but is rather expensive. Of the latter, I have seen nothing personally, but I had translated to me a plaquard in the streets of Canton, which warned Coolies from engaging themselves there.

The third place is Hongkong, from which only such emigrants have left as were recruited under the auspices of Mr Lobscheid.

And now let me tell you that our Islands are looked upon more favorably than any other country, in this matter of emigration.

They are well known here under the name of Tang-heang-shan, which means Sandalwood (fragrant wood) Islands. They know that they are near China, & on the way from Kin shan (California). They must also know that Chinese do live there, & are well off. I am told by everyone, Chinese or foreigners who understand Chinese, that we shall meet with no difficulty in obtaining as many laborers as we want, & cheaper than others. I believe it very feasible to direct there a steady stream of free labor immigration, as it goes to the Straits from here. All that Government would have to do, would be once or twice a year to lay a vessel on for Honolulu, & make it known that it will advance the passage money to every immigrant, which money is to be refunded, by said immigrant consenting to be hired out by Government, until such time as said advance shall have been returned to it. From that date the immigrant would be master of his own time & labor.

The principle of working on shares of the produce, with the owners of land, is one in great favor with the Chinese, & will recommend itself favorably to many of our great landholders, Mr. Wyllie in particular. I hope to hear your views, & may be instructions, on this matter without delay.

Now with regard to the much mooted point. Are the Chinese, or not, the most eligible laboring population which we can import

1 The statement presented by the firm of Bourjau, Hubener & Co. for expenditures in connection with the laborers shipped on the Alberto. Note the charge for a supply of opium. (original, State Archives of Hawaii)

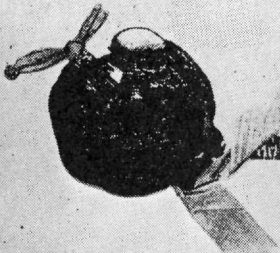
into our Islands. I, not having seen the East Indies yet, am of course not in a proper position to judge. But anyone who comes to China & sees this excess of industry, of agriculture, & work of every kind, can not be otherwise than most favorably impressed.

It seems to be one vast beehive in which there are no drones. The first walk through the streets of Canton, with its endless variety of articles of industry, & agricultural or gardening produce as exhibited there, fairly bewilders one. And the men are physically strong, inured to labor, & the poorer class of women just as hard working as the men. One cannot help coming to the conclusion that such a population would be a mighty help in developing the hidden resources of any country.

As to the prevalence of unnatural vices, so freely attributed to them, Mr. Sampson who has been living among them some ten years, & has had hundreds of them in his Establishment at one time, told me he did not believe in it. I can attest myself from personal observation in the public Dispensary of Dr Kerr, that Syphilis is not very prevalent.

That a low state of morality does exist among the Chinese in Honolulu & other places, where a low population, exclusively of the male sex, brought up under mere materialistic impressions, with out the aid of religious ideas, should not prejudge the case. The fault has been in great measure with ourselves, in as much as no females were imported at the time, & no organization existed, to control, & direct the course of those, who had served out their time. It would be well if some of our religious corporations took into consideration the moral & religious state of our incoming Chinese population; and Government appointed an officer, whose duty it was to watch & protect them while bound servants, & to assist them in getting free or lease-holds after their time of service has expired. To me it seems utterly irreconcilable, that a people so hard working and industrious as the Chinese are in their own country, should be stricken with such a moral degradation as many writers & talkers would make us believe. This much seems to be a fact, that in countries where Chinese & Hindoo Coolies work together, the moral status of the former is considered superiour to that of the latter. That they are less submissive & docile than other races, that they love to return to their own country after accumulating a little fortune, that they do not amalgamate so readily with other races, these are facts

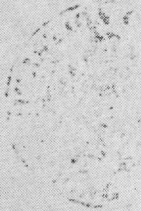
² "Emigration Officer's Certificate" for the Alberto. (Original, State Archives of Hawaii)



EMIGRATION OFFICER'S CERTIFICATE.

I hereby authorize the Chinese Passenger Ship *Alberta* to proceed to Sea for the Port of *Honolulu* in *Sandwich Islands* and I certify that the said Ship can legally carry *246* Adults, and that there are on board *246* Passengers, making in all *246* Adults, viz., *197* Men, *43* Women, *8* Male Children, and *—* Female Children, such Children being between the Ages of One and Twelve Years; that the Space set apart and to be kept clear for the Use of such Emigrants is as follows:—On the Upper Deck, *2124*— Superficial Feet, being *for stowage*; and in the Between Deck *Hospital* *2952* Superficial Feet, being *for berths*; that the Ship is properly manned and fitted, and that the Means of Ventilating the part of the Between Decks appropriated to Passengers are as follows, *Windows ventilators*; that the Ship is furnished with a proper Quantity of good Provisions, Fuel, and Water for *56* Days' Issues to the Passengers according to the annexed Dietary Scale, and with a proper Quantity of Medicines, Instruments, and Medical Comforts according to the annexed Scale of Medical Necessaries; that I have inspected the Contracts between the Emigrants and their intended Employers (the Terms of which are annexed to this Certificate), and consider them reasonable; that no Fraud appears to have been practised in collecting the Emigrants; and that there are on board a Surgeon and Interpreter approved by me, and designated respectively *Boon Lum,*

The Master of the Ship is to put into *—* for Water and fresh Vegetables.



A. S. Thomsett
Emigration Officer.

Dated at Hongkong this *22nd* Day of *July* 186*5*.

Attached to this Certificate are,—
1. Passenger List as supplied by Ship Master.
2. Schedule A. of the Chinese Passenger Act, 1855.

which cannot be contested. But without venturing to commit myself, & while I shall have my attention fixed on the merits & adaptedness of other races to our country, during my further travels; I am strongly inclined to believe that we shall finally prefer the Chinamen.

A singular corroboration to this opinion I have derived from the startling facts, that even to Bombay they have imported Chinese Coolies for building the railroads; that two thousand Chinese have been ordered for Suez to work on the Canal, & finally that even the Ceylong coffee planters, who have their cheap & abundant free labor supply from Southern India, have all but come to the conclusion to employ Chinese in preference.

July 19th. Since writing the above, your welcome lines by the Peruvian Ship have come to my hands. The Messrs Saco & Pastor, by whose favor they were forwarded, have not called on me yet, & doubt that they will do so, if they read in the papers the advertisement of a Coolie Ship for Honolulu. Yesterday the Coolies were to be examined by a Medical Officer before being sent on board the vessel. According to the regulations for Emigrant ships, as passed for this Colony, the examination has to be conducted by a resident practitioner, but I made it a point to be present myself. Unfortunately the arrangements made on the premises were very imperfect. 110 men & 38 women passed muster & were sent on board, but I have good reason to suspect that others not sound, have got in possession of tickets & been smuggled on board. I shall visit the ship this afternoon & try to rectify any disorder that may have taken place. The remainder will be examined tomorrow.

The port regulations prescribe that the Emigrant Ships for Honolulu shall be provisioned for 51 days during the S. W. & 75 during the N. E. Monsoon. The first term seems to be rather short as an extreme limit, & in order to be prepared for all contingencies, I have directed Mr Booth to place 75 piculs more of rice on board; and as the Captain's supply of water for the Ship's crew, is calculated to last for 6 or 7 months, he is ready in case of emergency to supply the passengers with the surplus, on condition that the Charterers fill up his tanks in Hon. free of charge. I have also told him that he might count upon having the use of the steam tug if required, free of expense, for entering Honolulu harbor.

With regard to the future cost of Coolies, it may be assumed that every individual, supposing 25 p. c. to be women, will cost here about 41 Mexican dollars, for which you will have to pay in Honolulu, if by making remittances by Letter of credit you have to submit to a discount of 25 p.c., \$53.75. By sending gold you will

only lose 10 per cent, & reduce thereby your cost price to \$45.50. The present rate of freight would make a laborer landed in Honolulu, stand in \$65.75 in the first instance, & \$57.50 in the second. But you must bear in mind that the present rates of freight are unprecedentedly low, & that you may have to pay sometimes as high as \$25 to \$30 per head. The necessity for your sending gold in future becomes therefore still more manifest, if the operation shall be conducted economically. The American eagle \$20. is worth here now \$18.05. English Sovereigns pass at \$4.50 the latter therefore if they can be obtained, are the most preferable medium of exchange. You will perceive that the outlay for 500 Coolies in this place exceeds considerably the sums sent by you, both by letter of credit, & in gold, both these amounts figuring up to 15. Mexican dollars only, while the cost as per estimate of Mr Booth comes to \$20.170.

If you remember that I was to draw to the amount of \$3,000 on the above sum, you will find that you have fallen considerably short in your estimate. In order to remedy as far as possible this deficiency, I have placed at your disposal all the private funds which I brought with me somewhat exceeding \$2,000 in gold, on which I expect you to pay me the difference in exchange, or in other words that you repay me with 10 per cent premium. You will still gain 15 p. c. by this transaction, as your loss would be 25 p. c. at least by letter of credit. Mr Booth has intimated to me that he will advance what money may be needed beyond that sum, & I shall trust to be able to draw for what is due me, by him. It may be also that Messrs Pustau & Co. will be ready to advance the money, but I doubt it, for they expected, when I came with a letter of credit to them, that they would do my business. They felt quite irritated, when, after having that favorable estimate from Bourjean & Hubener I engaged that firm. I have thereby placed myself in a disagreeable position toward them, although I gave them from the beginning, no reason to expect anything more than the financial part of the business from me. It would have been far more satisfactory to me, to have had a letter of credit on Jardine, Matheson & Co.

The next remittance, I beg you to make in gold, or specie of some kind. I cannot with all my ingenuity, make out a real difference between the Government using money lying idle in the treasury, & pledging its credit to a similar account. Let me also remind you that at present the rates of freight are exceedingly low, & will in all probability remain so until the end of the year. You will never find a time again when you can have them so cheap as now. If you send gold, direct it to my order either to Jardine, Matheson & Co

or Bourjean, Hubener & Co or Pustau & Co. I shld. recommend the first firm.

The Chinaman Ah Fat will return by this vessel. He has not been of the least use to me, on the contrary, he was an incumbrance. He began to get worse on the passage, & he is altogether so diffident, & helpless, that I was obliged constantly to look after him. But he is a very good fellow otherwise. The disbursements which I have made on his account, amount in all to \$99.00 to which will have to be added his passage back, the amount of which I do not know yet. All this is a dead loss. I have my doubts if he will live to see Honolulu again. It remains for me to say a few words on a matter personal to myself. The agreement, under which after some debate, I agreed to go, was a salary of \$6,000 for the first year, only half of which I can draw while on my voyage, & pay at the rate of only \$3,000 for the time of any absence exceeding one year. You will recollect well that my first demand was \$7,500 a year, & I can only say, I am sorry I did not insist upon that, because it is much nearer the real expense of my voyage than \$6,000. To give you an idea of the expenses. While on land the simple Hotel bill will amount to at least \$10. per day--& the cost for locomotion & many other extras will swell it up to \$15.00 These are the regular expenses to which has to be added any amount of extraordinary ones. The rates of passage in the P & O Steamers as well as those of the Messagerie Imperiale, are from \$18 to \$20 per diem for each person. I shall have to do a great deal of travelling on these lines, probably in all amounting to 90 days. You will see that this alone will cost me over \$4,000. When I consented to the reduction of my salary to \$3,000 for the time of my absence exceeding one year, I did so under the impression that it would not exceed that term. Now however it becomes clear to me that it will take at least 18 months, perhaps more. You may say that my having taken my family with me, adds a great deal to my expenses, for which you are not responsible. My answer is that my own personal expenses will amount to near \$6,000 & that I have a right to ask some compensation for giving up the emoluments of my practice, for which latter claim you in fact allowed \$3,000. The increase of expense for account of my family, is more than I ask of you to pay, but I believe I have a right to ask, as I originally insisted upon, the pay for any personal expenses & \$3,000 besides. The former I will moderately, very moderately, set down at \$4,500. In that case my original demand of \$7,500 remains very reasonable.

This by the by, is no more than the salaries of the Emigration

Agents, of the Guianas & Trinidad, in Calcutta & Hong Kong amount to, & they have no other business besides & are not liable to heavy travelling expenses.

Whether you will be liberal enough to allow me this increase of salary, I do not know, for you may say that I have entered into an agreement on those terms. Nor shld. I open this point, did I not become fully aware that my services will be of very great importance to our country, if you allow me to carry them through according to my idea. The Coolies which I send, will stand you in Hon. between \$60 & \$70, while I am perfectly convinced, that had you contracted for them through a mercantile house, they would have stood you in at least \$100 & that would not have included females. Moreover, I shall place that business here on such a basis, that even after I am gone, they will be furnished to you at similar rates. What good will result to our country by those many new importations of animals and plants, is quite beyond calculation yet.

Only give me the means & do not embarrass me with regard to time, & I assure you that our Isls. through my agency, & with the assistance of an increasing industrious population, shall become richer in products than any other country, or group of Islands in the world. I do therefore think that I have a very fair ground to raise this demand of increase of pay. But if I ask you to continue that salary for the whole time of my absence unabridged; & from the 10th month of my absence (for until then I am supplied with private funds) allow me to draw the whole of it here, I believe I have a kind of right to ask for it. You will admit that one principal reason why you urged me to abate my original demand, was that you had not more money at your command, & that if I did not accept your proposal, the thing would fall through. That reason determined me into accepting, but it does not hold good any more for the second year, for the Legislature will meet then, & you are at liberty to remedy that great defect which existed in the "act for encouraging Immigration", viz ask for the amount of appropriation necessary to carry out its provisions economically (by being empowered to send specie) & fairly & justly, by paying your employe according to the necessities of the case. Besides; the disposal of the presently to be sent two cargoes of Coolies, will replace you in command of \$5,000 which you are at liberty to devote to such a legitimate object.

I wish you to bear in mind, that there was not a single person besides me on the Islands, who could have carried out *all* the duties entrusted to me, & that therefore, the plea that you might have

had these services done cheaper, or as cheap, by another one, can not be raised at all.

Hoping that these long lucubrations on a matter personal to me, will fall on receptive ground & bear good seed, & trusting at the same time that my exertions in your behalf thus far, will meet with your approbation, I will close this long epistle, & sign myself, Mr President & Gentlemen of the Bureau,

Your most obdt. Svt. & faithful colleague.

WM. HILLEBRAND

July 21st P.M. I hope the vessel will get off tomorrow. Mr Booth will make up the accounts as far as they can be done by this vessel. What number of women will go by the second vessel, is uncertain. It is impossible therefore to arrive at the exact cost of each immigrant. You will do well, in disposing of them to the Planters, not to fix upon the price, but ask cash payment to a certain amount, say \$50 or \$60 & determine the balance on arrival of the "Roscoe."

WM HILLEBRAND

NOTES

¹ The final count on the arrivals were 199 men, 43 women and 8 children on the *Alberto*, arriving in Honolulu on September 25, 1865; and 223 men, 53 women and 2 children on the *Roscoe*, arriving on October 13, 1865. (Immigration, Chinese, 1865. ID)